THE TRUCE AND AMERICAN POLICY

THE Nation

July 31, 1954
20¢

Has Dewey Had Enough?

by Warren Moscow

Double Exposure

Woltman on McCarthy

by Carey McWilliams

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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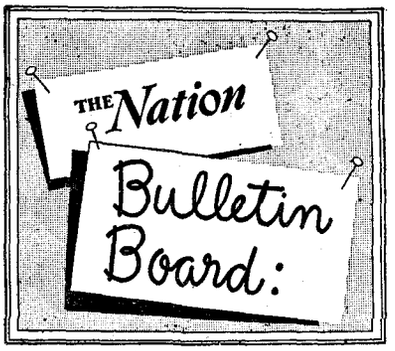

ONE way of getting into politics seems to be by way of the New York *Times*. Jim Hagerty, an able political reporter, made the move, first as an aid to Governor Dewey and now to President Eisenhower. Warren Moscow, whose article in this issue deals with Governor Dewey and his party, was head of the *Times* Albany bureau and now is aid to New York City's Mayor Wagner. In his more than two decades as a political reporter, Moscow has made a reputation as a man who knows his way through the political jungles..

THE Refregier drawings on pages 87 and 88 were made while the great American muralist was touring Guatemala with a companion. They witnessed the beginning of the hostilities there, and now, back in America, they plan to write a book. It is their feeling that what has taken place is a tragedy for the Guatemalan people—a tragedy to which Bernard Rosen's article furnishes an authentic background.

DR. ALTON OCHSNER, one of the country's leading researchers on the link between smoking and lung cancer, will contribute another article to *The Nation* this summer. His first, which appeared in May, 1953, anticipated much of the material on the subject which has since been published elsewhere. A past president of the American Cancer Society, Dr. Ochsner is now professor of surgery at Tulane. His new book, "Smoking and Cancer," will be published this fall by Julian Messner.

AUGUST will mark the 100th anniversary of "Walden Pond" and devotees of Thoreau's bright, independent spirit will enjoy the sparkling commemorative essay by Lewis Leary, professor of English at Columbia, which will appear in our August 7 issue. In the same issue Carlos Baker will review "A Fable" by William Faulkner.

WHEN we predicted a flood of letters on Waldo Frank's article The Anti-Communist Peril (June 19 issue) we could more accurately have called it a tidal wave. Scores of letters have come in, and the percentage runs about two to one in favor of Frank. A number of letters have been published, but unfortunately space prohibits publication of more in extenso. All I can do is to give you the flavor of the unpublished file.

Thomas Broderick of Schenectady, New York, welcomes Frank's exposé of "those execrable creatures, the toadies and pussyfoots among the intellectuals." Fred Clayson of Salinas, California, proposes "an intellectual Olympic Game" as possible help in clarifying the issues between the United States and Russia. W. E. Monaghan, Ridgefield, New Jersey, says that while he "holds to the Sidney Hook brand of liberalism" he nevertheless considers the article to be "one of the decade's great efforts at unraveling the why and wherefore of the actions and motivations of thinking Americans of our time." Nicholas Lentz of South Bend, Indiana, believes Frank showed the need "for an indigenous and authentic American radicalism."

Russell Ames of Hampton, New Jersey, finds that Frank "offers no social program, not even the shadow of Utopia . . . he is against sin." He contends that "the great materialists, such as Bacon, Franklin, and Engels, hold that man must know and obey natural laws so that he can master nature and make it obey humanity. The chief effect of vague idealism and mysticism like that of Waldo Frank is precisely to make man a victim of nature."

A number of readers thought Upton Sinclair's comment on the article, printed July 3, was off base. These included William J. Patton of Edmonton, Canada; Webster Rogers of Lakebay, Washington; Thomas T. Waterman of Oakland, California, and J. M. Wheeler of Chicago, Illinois. Their general feeling was that Sinclair had misread the piece. Philosophy professor Edith Schipper's thoughtful letter, which appeared July 10, drew interesting and pertinent comment from John F. Miller of Highland Park, Michigan; William Palmer Taylor of Hamilton, Ohio, and Robert Douglas Mead of Cos Cob, Connecticut.

In the coming months *The Nation* will publish more essays by outstanding American thinkers dealing with the general area of the problems discussed by Waldo Frank. MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

That Modest Proposal

Dear Sirs: Arthur Miller's modest proposal in your July 3 issue was a gem. I have found it easily the most winning argument for any number of people to whom I have read it aloud. My admiration and respect for Mr. Miller grow when I think that he managed such an effort at a time when he was, at I understand, deeply involved in a new play. He has done us all a most useful service and I am grateful to him and to *The Nation*. I am sure that Swift and others must be passing copies around wherever they may be. ARNOLD PERL
New York

Dear Sirs: To my mind nothing yet said or written equals Arthur Miller's brilliant, hilarious, and all too accurate satire on our United States in this year of 1954. Perhaps this gifted and good man can reach as many people through humor as he did through the pity and understanding manifested in his "Death of a Salesman." FRANCES WRIGHT
New York

Contradiction?

Dear Sirs: I find it very hard to understand just what side of the fence *The Nation* is on in regard to United States foreign policy in Guatemala and Indo-China. In the June 26, July 3, and July 10 issues you constantly refer to the revolution in Guatemala as "unwarranted aggression." But in the July 10 issue, referring to the Vietminh attempt to overthrow the French colonial rule in Vietnam, you say: "Have we a right to treat it as aggression when a people overthrows an existing government in their own land and by their own efforts?" But are not the Vietminh supplied with weapons from Communist Russia and Communist China? Aren't the Communists urging the Vietminh to overthrow the French colonial government?

Incidentally, The Anti-Communist Peril by Waldo Frank was a bit of sheer genius.
Long Beach, Calif. R. ASHCRAFT

Not at All

Regarding Mr. Ashcraft's interesting communication, in our judgment there is a basic difference between the two situations. Indo-China is a colony of France and the site of a protracted struggle by a people to achieve independence. The pro-Vietminh sympathies of the majority of the Vietnam people have been confirmed not only by many disinterested observers but most cogently by the Western powers themselves, which at Geneva fought hard to delay popular elections as long as possible. In contrast, the "revolt" in Guatemala, a sovereign state, was manufactured with the help of outsiders against a regime which had been democratically elected by its people.

(Continued on page 99)

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Truce and American Policy

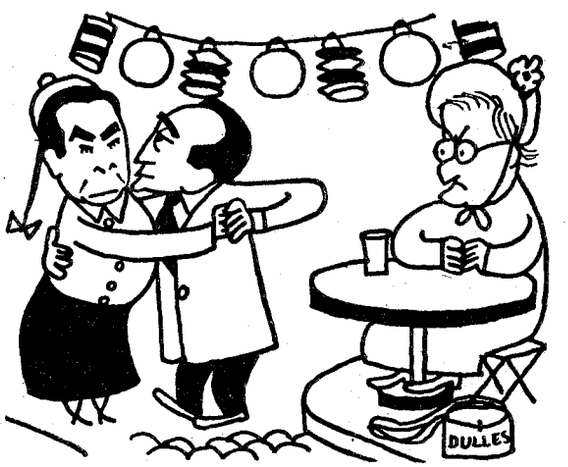
THE "Big Five" sat together at Geneva but in circumstances that surely were not contemplated in 1945 when there was proud talk of the "American Century." The United States was present at Geneva in the flesh, but its spirit was absent.

The Geneva agreements embodied triumph and tragedy. There were personal triumphs for four individual leaders—Mendès-France in particular, statesmanlike Anthony Eden, the ubiquitous Molotov, and Chou En-lai. The balance sheet for their nations presented a less happy division. France did not win as its representative did, because it could not; the truce agreement was not so much a new loss for France as the candid acknowledgement of a loss that had already taken place for a colonial power in the political and military arena of Asia. Great Britain itself could hardly have been said to have won or lost except in the long-term sense that it might gain from peace. The position of the Soviet Union was roughly similar to that of the United Kingdom; it probably won but only by a roundabout route—through China. China, however, like Chou En-lai, gained tremendously in prestige in Asia and won new standing in the councils of Europe.

For the Americans there was only tragedy. Except for the Vietnam government, which now hardly counted any more than its sorry monarch sunning himself on a French beach, the United States suffered the greatest loss of all. It was a loss not in terms of legal rights or Indo-Chinese territory—where the United States had no holdings—but in the measure of its position in the North Atlantic Alliance, its prestige in Asia, and its contact with the aspirations of the Asian peoples. America's loss may also prove the greatest over the longer period, and it is not to be repaired with dollars or guns.

In terms of immediate concern other questions arise: What of the truce and of the future under the truce in Indo-China? What of future developments in Southeast Asia? Of these things no one can yet speak with final assurance. Certainly Ho Chi-minh's Communist regime has made more material gains by the truce than it had won previously; and the Vietminh position has been further strengthened by receiving the sanction of a legal international document. The Vietminh can no longer be denied a place in Southeast Asia. That it will try to achieve domination of all Indo-China in the elections scheduled to take place two years hence goes without saying. That it will win in those elections or resort to drastic measures if the elections should be postponed seems possible. But the balance sheet has credits on the other side too. So long as the war continued, the influence of international communism in Indo-China increased and the situation created by war facilitated violent moves, now no longer possible. The cessation of fighting reduces the likelihood of forcible change in Laos and Cambodia; the threat to Thailand comes more from the so-called Free Thai movement now based on Chinese territory than from a more direct type of revolutionary aggression; and the threat to Burma still comes more from the renegade Chinese Nationalist troops remaining on its territory than from any violation of its frontier. And France is free to return to Europe.

The Communists in Asia will naturally do their best to extend their sphere of influence. But there is nothing to bar the democracies from similarly trying to increase their influence among the Asian peoples. For this it is necessary, to put the matter in its simplest terms, to study the Asian nations—their needs, their troubles, and their desires—with the aim of discovering where and how the democracies, which pride themselves on being so rich and ingenious, can aid those economically backward but proud and independent peoples to progress toward their



Paris Street Dance: "Take a look at Mama!"

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own aspirations. Social revolutions are not created out of thin air or individual ambitions but come only when the condition of human beings makes them ripe for revolution and no other way than violence seems left. A revolutionary situation exists in Asia because of the antipathy of the Asian nations for alien, and particularly Occidental, interference, their desire to mold their own destinies, and their longing for economic betterment. Where communism has succeeded in gaining control of revolutionary processes in Asia it is only by convincing the people that Communist leadership is prepared to solve the problems of national independence and economic change. This unpalatable but hard fact is not to be conjured away by virtuous non-recognition or anti-Communist pronunciamientos. The only course open to those who would affect the mind of contemporary Asia is to view its political and economic problems against that autochthonous background. Once a sympathetic understanding has been achieved, the United Nations provides a framework within which East and West can work together as equals and avoid suspicion of a resurgence of imperialism and colonialism. By this approach the democracies would stand a good chance of influencing the course of revolution in Asia and contributing to an orderly development in that part of the world. The effort would require a ten-fold "Marshall Plan" for Asia —but as a United Nations project with full American participation. It would require a massive mobilization of dollars and techniques, of men and ideas—not of troops and guns. All the nations concerned would have to tackle the problem in a manner unaffected by cold-war concepts of "neutralism" or "loyalty."

FOR there is no slick substitute for a careful, sympathetic approach to the problems of the people; particularly, there is no solving the problem of revolution by force of arms. It is currently reported that Anglo-American discussions at Washington as to the next steps in Southeast Asia have run into obstacles because the United States' draft plan "paid maximum attention to military matters." But it is worth recalling that General Albert C. Wedemeyer, speaking in August, 1947, to the Chinese State Council and the Ministers of the National Government at Nanking, had this to say:

> I believe that the Chinese Communist movement cannot be defeated by the employment of force. Today China is being invaded by an idea instead of strong military forces from the outside. The only way in my opinion to combat this idea successfully is to do so with another idea that will have stronger appeal and win the support of the people. This means that politically and economically the central government will have to remove corruption and incompetence from its ranks in order to provide justice and equality and to protect the

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personal liberties of the Chinese people, particularly of the peasants.

What happened to Nationalist China after 1947 and the recent history of French colonialism in Indo-China offer striking lessons for those who still cling to the idea that it is only necessary to supply the arms for twenty or thirty or fifty divisions and all problems will be solved. General Wedemeyer explained in simple words why this is so. We believe that the Administration should ponder his words and consider their possible application to other areas of the world.

The Shape of Things

American Sabotage

The House Appropriations Committee has eliminated every penny of the $17,958,000 requested as the United States share of the U. N. technical-assistance program. It is impossible to overestimate the damage that will be done to our prestige abroad, and to the cause of peace, if this appropriation is not restored. Technical aid is the U. N. equivalent of our own Point Four, which was invented by President Truman as a means of opposing communism's materialistic philosophy with a more generous Western conception. Only a few years ago American delegates were lyrical in praise of technical aid; it is one of the few U. N. programs which some of the bitterest opponents of the world organization were often loath to criticize.

Three weeks ago our foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, denounced as a flank attack on the U. N. the developing American opposition to the work of the organization's three regional economic commissions—for Europe, Asia and the Far East, and Latin America. Wittingly or no, the House committee now appears to be pushing the offensive against the most practical and constructive part of the U. N.'s current activities. How can we charge that the Communists are sabotaging the world community when we ourselves, playing election politics, spurn our international responsibilities and withdraw from the only major constructive project on which the world can still unite?

Munich?

Nowadays any international agreement that involves a compromise with the Communist powers is by definition "another Munich." The Indo-China truce is the latest. Said the Alsop brothers the day after the terms were announced: "The parallel [with Munich] is exact at almost every point." Munich was also the watchword of numerous Senators and Representatives. Former Foreign Minister Bidault of France used the word—most unwisely—when he faced Mendès-France in the National Assembly before the overwhelming vote in favor of the truce. It was echoed by General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who solemnly declared in San Francisco that "intelligent people must see the similarity between Chamberlain returning from Munich and acclaiming peace in our time and Eden returning from Geneva with a similar statement as a result of bending the knee before leaders who are noted for their breaches of faith." All this is nonsense, of course—cheap and dangerous nonsense. Those who spread it should know better, particularly General Wedemeyer, whose words quoted on another page of this issue prove that, whatever his policy, he understands the present struggle for Asia.

After several encounters with the Munich calumny it was a relief to read Under Secretary of State Bedell Smith's realistic retort: "Munich is a damned poor term. At Munich things were given away when there was no fighting. This was a war." It was a war in process of being lost. France gave up far less at Geneva than it would have in Vietnam had it fought on. By the hard logic of battle France made a good bargain and the Communists behaved with intelligent restraint.

Differences Go Deeper

But Geneva and Munich were even less comparable in non-military terms. At Munich a free democracy was forced to hand over its keys—and forty-odd good divisions—to a foreign aggressor. At Geneva a European colonial power surrendered control over part of an Asian colony to the leaders of a nationalist rebellion enjoying general popular support. Grant some complicating circumstances: that the French had, under pressure in the course of the eight-year struggle, yielded partial sovereignty to the states composing their Indo-China satrapy; that the top rebel leaders were Communists; that the Vietminh rebellion in its later stages got substantial military aid from China—as the French did from America. Grant all this and you still have no political resemblance to Munich. If further proof is needed it can be found in the determined, and successful, effort of the French to postpone free elections throughout Vietnam and in the desire of the Communists to hold them. Do the Alsops or General Wedemeyer believe that Hitler would have welcomed free elections in Czechoslovakia after Munich? Or that Benes would have insisted that they be put off for at least two years?

Silence in the House

Never, to our knowledge, has a situation prevailed quite like that which exists in Washington today. In the last hours of a weirdly confused session, with crowded calendars, heavy committee schedules, and all-night sittings, an undisguised attempt to make away with the American Bill of Rights is meeting with virtually no opposition. It is as though a congress of sleepwalkers

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were either unaware of or quite indifferent to the theft of a priceless heritage of constitutional freedom. One reads with amazement and horror of the House passing, without debate or call for explanation, a bill to strip citizenship from any person, including citizens by birth, who is knowingly a member of the Communist Party. The other day the House approved "with only one dissenting vote" a bill to outlaw the Communist Party—a measure which even Mr. Brownell opposes. "Anti-subversive" measures are pending which have been pushed through committees without hearings, debate, or discussion of any kind.

A more disgraceful abdication of Congressional responsibility has not been witnessed in our time. No dictator ever decreed a package of repressive measures with greater ease and assurance, and less opposition, than Mr. Brownell is "sneaking" anti-subversive measures through this somnambulistic Congress. Of all the giveaways which have disgraced this session, the Bill of Rights giveaway is the worst.

Under the circumstances only one course of action seems practical: wire your Senators and Representatives urging them to table all "anti-subversive" measures, including the wire-tapping bill, the bill to grant immunity to witnesses before Congressional committees, the measure subjecting citizenship to political pressures, the "Communist-infiltrated" bill we discussed in last week's issue, and the other items making up this deadly package.

The Senate's Responsibility

Voting contempt citations has become such a routine procedure these days that the press failed to note that unanimous consent was denied Senator McCarthy's request for citations against Corliss Lamont and two other witnesses who had appeared before the Senator's Committee on Government Operations. On July 17 Senator Cooper of Kentucky stated that there appeared to be opposition and suggested that some further explanation was in order. The cases involve important constitutional issues under the First Amendment as well as the right of the committee to inquire into a citizen's political beliefs. If the Senate wants to curb the abuse of the power to inquire, it does not need to adopt uniform rules or new procedures; let it simply refuse to approve contempt citations in cases where the power has been abused. These cases are clearly in that category.

"Containing" the T. V. A.

The shouts of "giveaway!" with which a small but stalwart group of Senators last week fought sections of the proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act must have sounded extremely familiar to readers of *The Nation*. A year ago—on May 30 and June 6, 1953—Leland Olds, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, wrote two articles for this journal under the title The Grab for the Atom. A few weeks ago—July 17 and July 24—he returned to the subject with two more entitled The Great Atomic Giveaway in which he warned particularly of the ruthless Administration campaign against the T. V. A. now slowly shaping up.

Last week's Senatorial ruckus, fought in part by tired men who were forced to take catnaps on cloakroom cots, centered largely on a Presidential directive to the Atomic Energy Commission which would force the T. V. A. to buy privately produced power. The directive and its technical implications are enormously complicated and its legality is questionable. But its intent is all too clear. T. V. A. needs more power to serve its customers; for two years it has been asking, and has been denied, the money to construct an additional steam plant. The Administration does not want T. V. A. to expand; instead it is ringing the Authority with private-power "bases" much as the United States is seeking to ring the Soviet Union with military ones. Already T. V. A. is surrounded by a growing network of private-power companies which represent at once a bar to its expansion and a threat to its existing business. The Presidential directive is the Administration's first overt major aggression against T. V. A. in behalf of the private utilities.

At a press conference on the subject last week Mr. Eisenhower, obviously irritated at some of the questions thrown at him, and equally obviously ignorant of the answers to them, hinted that a President can always change his mind. If he needs persuasion, Mr. Olds's articles, and his testimony before the A. E. C., should be able to provide it. But the record would seem to show that the President is not over fond of reading.

Hugo Ernst

Few figures in the American labor movement had more friends and well-wishers in and out of the movement than Hugo Ernst. Mr. Ernst was perhaps liked and respected even more for his remarkable human qualities than for his undoubted talents as a leader. There was about his rather dandified person an Old World charm and grace of manner. But it was not charm alone that drew people to him. He was kindly and thoughtful and considerate. He never denied a hearing to anyone who had a problem or to spokesmen for a good cause. He had also an open-minded and generous attitude toward heretics and dissenters which he shared with George Kidwell and some of the other outstanding San Francisco trade-union leaders of his generation. Several of these men had either a Socialist or an I. W. W. background. Mr. Ernst, for example, ran for Congress on the Socialist ticket in 1922. He was one of a three-man committee formed in San Francisco to defend Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. It is reported that when Billings

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eventually walked out of prison he said that he owed his freedom chiefly to the efforts of one man—Hugo Ernst. Fortunately the story of Mr. Ernst and the union he led—he rose from bus boy to the presidency of the 440,000-member Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union—is being written by Matthew Josephson, the biographer of Sidney Hillman. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Ernst did not live long enough to read and enjoy a book which will be as much a biography of himself as it is the story of his union.

DOUBLE EXPOSURE

Woltman on McCarthy . . *by Carey McWilliams*

FREDDIE WOLTMAN seemed more than a mite surprised when I asked for an interview to discuss his series of five articles, The McCarthy Balance Sheet, which appeared in the New York *World-Telegram* and other Scripps-Howard papers on July 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. But after a few questions he talked freely about the series.

For him, he emphasized, it was an assignment. Back in October the Scripps-Howard editors had felt the need for a reappraisal of McCarthy's activities, and in January Woltman had been asked to undertake it. He tried to duck it, first, because so much had been written about McCarthy that he did not believe anything new could be said, and then because the task of investigating McCarthy's activities was one of intimidating proportions. The editors kept on asking and he kept on stalling. Then came the blow-up in the feud between McCarthy and the army, and the whole question assumed a new urgency. The editors said that Woltman was not merely "just the man" for the job but the only man for it. His appraisal, they pointed out, couldn't be assailed or impugned. He was not only an anti-Communist—he had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1947 for a series on Communist infiltration—but he was a friend of McCarthy and of his group; hence he could not be fairly accused of malice or of having an ax to grind. The pressure mounted and Woltman finally set to work. It took him three weeks just to run through the clippings. But he put together an eight-page report on McCarthy's activities which made the rounds of the Scripps-Howard editors in late April. The editors liked it and wanted a series based on it—quickly.

Reading the clippings, Woltman came to two conclusions: the series would have to be short, otherwise it ran the risk of being boring, and it should be in the nature of a set of conclusions. Of the various McCarthy investigations, he singled out the Voice of America inquiry for close study. He insists that he didn't tell the whole story or even half of it. "McCarthy's investigation of the Voice of America," he told me, "is a subject for some future Congressional investigation." The "people close to McCarthy" were "sore as hell" about the way McCarthy let down the inside tipsters and informers who had supplied the scuttlebutt on which the investigation was based. Eventually most of these inside informers were fired. McCarthy refused to go to bat for any of them, either because he knew they were an unsavory lot or feared his investigation might be investigated.

IN WORKING on the series Woltman kept his own counsel, not wanting any hint of his project to leak to the press or to McCarthy. The moment the articles were announced, however, they became a subject of intense discussion in the McCarthy camp. Friends of Woltman who are also friends of McCarthy got in touch with him on an off-the-record basis to say that while there was much truth in what he had to say about McCarthy's staff and methods, still Joe was a "symbol" of the fight against communism and for this reason should not be attacked. Some said they would never speak to Woltman again; a few expressed private agreement with his conclusions. Woltman has every reason to believe that the series badly jolted McCarthy and company and that they have been holding "prayer meetings" to ferret out its meaning and implications.

Woltman thinks—and he is clearly right—that the series was perfectly timed. He wanted it to begin in the wake of the McCarthy-army hearings, when it would not have to compete with them for public attention, but before the committee had prepared its report. Eighteen of nineteen Scripps-Howard newspapers carried the entire series and most of them featured it. In San Francisco, Cleveland, and other cities Scripps-Howard papers played it on page one. *Time* gave it three columns on July 19 and *Life* indorsed it.

Woltman told me that the reaction had been more savage in New York than elsewhere. The first great wave of letters came from the crackpots. Over half of these letters were anonymous—"crackpot Christian Front stuff." The more obscene notes were scrawled on toilet paper. The nature of the communications indicated that the protest had to some extent been organized. On the other hand, many of the writers seemed quite sincere. From the mail Woltman is convinced that there is a kind of "K. K. K. business"—frothy, crazy, and dangerous—abroad in the land. For the first few days the letters were critical of the series in the ratio of three to one. Then the protests leveled off and the comment was fifty-fifty until Pat Scanlon, editor of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, made a bitter attack on Woltman in the issue of Saturday, July 17. Copies of the *Tablet* were distributed at most of the Catholic churches in the Brooklyn diocese that Sunday, and the next week the volume of pro-McCarthy mail increased. Many of McCarthy's fans simply tore out the editorial and mailed it to the

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World-Telegram with scabrous marginal notations. Captioned "Woltman Loses His Balance," the editorial denounced Woltman as a "hatchet man," a mud-slinger, "a reckless and ruthless character assassin," and an informer—in having revealed incidents that took place at private dinners "with the Senator at which the latter assumed he was talking to a friend."

I ASKED Woltman about the background of the Scripps-Howard editorial policy toward McCarthy. For example, on March 26, 1953, the Scripps-Howard papers had carried a major editorial criticism of McCarthy under the caption "Guerrilla Government" which had precipitated a flood of correspondence. Was this their first "anti-McCarthy" editorial? "Quite the contrary," Woltman said, "we've always kept our fingers crossed about McCarthy and have never indorsed him. In 1950 when I was in Washington working on the *Amerasia* case—the Tydings investigation was under way—they took the hide off McCarthy, telling him to keep his big mouth shut and predicting that the investigation would blow up because of the circus-like atmosphere he was creating. It was a prophetic editorial. Generally, the papers have adopted an empirical attitude toward McCarthy, striking at him when they thought he needed it, occasionally giving him a pat-on-the-back for something he has done. But they've never said he was a great guy."

I asked Woltman what he thought the effect of the series had been. He professed not to know except to say that it may have sealed the fate of Roy Cohn, and that was important. McCarthy would be completely useless without a first-rate counsel and now he would have "a helluva time" finding anyone of stature who would be willing to take the job. "Cohn," he said, "was 100 per cent the wrong guy for the job," although he did know how to get headlines. Without a first-rate chief counsel, he feels, McCarthy can't do too much between now and November, and if the Democrats win control of Congress he will probably "fade," since the chairmanship of the Senate Investigations Committee is a major source of his power. Woltman thought, too, that the series might stiffen the attitude of Senator Potter. "McCarthy's problem," he said, "is that he is a victim of his own headlines. Back in 1950 he told me that the newspapers had given him the greatest forum on earth. But now, regardless of what he does, he can't rewrite those headlines." Still, you can't be sure that McCarthy will "fade." "He's very resilient—a fast operator. He's in and then he's out. He is not at all like his crackpot following. They are fanatics but he isn't. He has no machine—no organized following. Nor is he like Huey Long, for he has no program. He's essentially a destructive critic; nothing more. If Taft had been elected President, McCarthy would be slamming away at him today. He has to be attacking something all the time or he would simply wither on the vine. It's his ability to remain disengaged that makes it possible for him to drop an issue as fast as he picks one up. His main trouble during the hearings was that he was forced to put on a show before the TV cameras and he's really not good at it; he hams it up."

The last time Woltman saw McCarthy was some six months ago. He had been sitting in on a hearing McCarthy was conducting and had left the New York courthouse in the company of McCarthy and Roy Cohn. As they walked out, Cohn pointed to Governor Dewey's car which was parked at the curb. "Oh, gee!" said McCarthy, running around to take a look at the No. 1 license plate and flattening his nose against the rolled-up windows to get a good view of the interior. "He acted like a kid," Woltman was rather surprised to note.

Woltman is convinced that there has been a stiffening of conservative opposition to McCarthy in the last year. He has received confidential laudatory letters about his series from any number of individuals—he mentioned some names to me—that one might expect to find in the pro-McCarthy camp. One was an editor of *Reader's Digest*. He is convinced, too, that the Catholics are more sharply divided—"even discounting Bishop Shiel"—on the issue of McCarthyism than most people imagine. The Pittsburgh *Catholic*, official organ of the Pittsburgh diocese, has praised his series as "the study of the McCarthy case which the country needs and for which it has been waiting." The paper bears the imprimatur of the Right Reverend John F. Dearden, Bishop of Pittsburgh. Many diocesan papers have taken a stand-off attitude; the National Catholic Welfare Conference has a poor opinion of McCarthy, and the Jesuit publication *America* has been consistently critical.

In Woltman's view, while McCarthy has a good sense of timing and knows how to grab headlines, he has always been dependent on others for ideas and direction. When he started his great anti-Communist crusade in 1950 he had no idea what he was getting into and confessed to Woltman's wife that he had only become interested in communism "about two and a half months ago." As Woltman sees him, he is not a fanatic and not an anti-Semite. "You must have some kind of racist philosophy to be an anti-Semite and he hasn't any philosophy, racist or otherwise." When staff members caught him up for using the word "kike"—"why shouldn't I call Jews 'kikes' when people call me a 'Mick'? My principal backer is a Jewish department-store owner"—they had to explain that using the word "kike" was "just one of those things you don't do." They had to explain, too, that issues of this sort arouse more feeling on the Eastern seaboard than in Wisconsin. But once he got the point, McCarthy ordered Upton Close out of his office.

TWO interesting aspects of the Woltman series on which Woltman declined to comment should be noted. The New York *Daily News* has tried to create the impression that there is much "a-feudin' and a'fussin' "—its phrase—in the Scripps-Howard chain over the Woltman series. The notion is based on the fact that Mrs. William Loeb, sister of Charles E. Scripps, chairman of the Scripps-Howard board, and wife of the Manchester, New Hampshire, publisher, has denounced the series as "rotten, biased journalism." "Them's harsh words," comments the *Daily News* editorially, "and it pains us no end to see a newspaper family fight explode into the open." But the pain must be negligible, for the "exploding" in this case was done by the *Daily News* itself. There is no evidence of any division in the Scripps-Howard management on the series. Mrs. Loeb has an interest in the Scripps estate but is not, I am told, a stockholder.

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More interesting is the possible relation of the Woltman series to some high-level "a-feudin' and a-fussin'" in the ranks of the "anti-Communists." Just as McCarthy has tended to overshadow the other witch-hunters, so George Sokolsky and some of his colleagues on the Hearst papers have tended to monopolize the "contacts" with McCarthy. It was Sokolsky, the king-maker, who secured Cohn's appointment as chief counsel, and it was Sokolsky and Richard Berlin, an executive in the Hearst chain, who tried to work out a formula for settling the McCarthy-army row. The power and prestige that Sokolsky has enjoyed during the last year or so have doubtless irritated many other "anti-Communist" writers.

Whatever the motivation, publication of the Woltman series is a major development in the breakup of McCarthy's power. For one of the nation's outstanding "anti-Communist" writers to lower the boom on Joe in this massive and brutal fashion cannot but weaken his position. It will shake the confidence of the opportunists who have been flocking to Joe's camp on the assumption that he was invincible. Coming in the wake of the McCarthy-army hearings, the series must have shaken even Joe's confidence in his power. And just as he is trapped, on the one hand, by his own headlines, so, on the other, he is trapped by his own temperament. He can no more reverse his field at this late date than he can appease his critics by piping down.

True, McCarthy is only a symbol; the movement he represents would not vanish if his power were utterly destroyed. But the "anti-Communists" around McCarthy are right; whatever tarnishes the symbol weakens the movement. Nevertheless, McCarthy is now being attacked from the right in an effort to preserve the movement which he helped bring to maturity. The caption of a recent *Saturday Evening Post* editorial tells the story: Deplore McCarthyism but Keep an Eye on the Reds! But this is a little easier said than done. All the same, it remains a sad commentary on the demoralization of the liberal movement that two of the lustiest of recent blows against McCarthyism should have been struck by a rock-ribbed New England Republican conservative, Senator Flanders, and by Freddie Woltman, the dean of the "anti-Communist" writers.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Guatemala's Tragedy . . . *by Bernard Rosen*

TO THE people of the United States the overthrow of the Arbenz regime was merely another incident in the West's anti-Communist crusade. For Guatemala, however, the event had far different implications, and the issue of communism was involved only because the United States injected it. The real issues antedate the anti-Communist crusade; indeed, they antedate communism.

Throughout the nineteenth century two main forces struggled for supremacy on the Guatemalan scene—the anti-clerical liberals, who were the partisans of the ideas of the French Revolution, and the conservatives, who upheld the status quo and the traditionalism which stemmed from Spanish colonialism. Except for brief interludes the conservatives held the power, and Guatemala remained a backward, semi-feudal country, controlled by landholders and clericals who kept a landless peasantry in a state of abysmal ignorance and povery. A strong middle class, the necessary base for a flourishing liberal movement anywhere, was virtually non-existent.

In the 1870's the liberals came to power and under the leadership of the dynamic Justo Rufino Barrios separated church and state, expropriated church properties, and established a secular public-school system. In order to further the country's economic development they invited American capitalists to supply the necessary funds. Rufino Barrios was particularly interested in the construction of railroads, believing that they would contribute more than any other single factor to the modernization of Guatemala.

The successors of Rufino Barrios

Girls Learning to Read

BERNARD ROSEN taught history and economics at the American School in Guatemala City for several years and in 1952 conducted a State Department seminar for Guatemalan teachers. Now in this country, he is writing a book on the rise of economic imperialism in Guatemala.

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Guatemalan Mother

gradually abandoned his liberal ideals, but they continued to extend a warm welcome to foreign capital. Under the dictator Estrada Cabrera, whose iron-fisted rule lasted from 1898 to 1920, the United Fruit Company acquired tremendous power, and the railroads which Rufino Barrios had visualized as a national enterprise became the property of American stockholders, together with the electric-power plants.

In the twentieth century the blending of capitalism intruding from abroad with the semi-feudalism persisting from the past produced the present rigid social structure. At the top are the American enterprises and the great landholders, mainly producers of coffee; below are the middle classes, the workers (brought into existence by the foreign capitalists), and the peasants. The foreign capitalists and the large native landholders have much in common. Both produce for the world market and have little interest in the country's industrial development or in raising the living standards of the masses. Both are against the rise of labor and peasant movements which could threaten their respective economic interests.

The middle, working, and peasant classes are held together by their common discontent and resentments. What kind of market can ambitious Guatemalan small capitalists and merchants find in a population earning from twenty cents to a dollar a day? Why should they oppose the trade-union organization of the workers employed by the foreign enterprises if that will bring higher wages and thus increase the workers' purchasing power? Why should they oppose agrarian reforms designed to increase the income of the peasants? Why should not all these classes favor democratic institutions under which they can marshal their forces and agitate for a change?

From 1900 on successive dictatorships kept the masses in their place and guaranteed that the foreign enterprises and the native landholders should enjoy the fruits of their labor. Social pressures however, have a way of building up, and in 1944 a virtually spontaneous popular upheaval overthrew the thirteen-year-old Ubico government.

HISTORICALLY the 1944 revolution belonged to the liberal current which brought Mariano Gálvez and Rufino Barrios to power in the nineteenth century. It was a belated bourgeois revolution, not, as its enemies asserted, a "red" revolution. Middle-class intellectuals, supported by the masses, became the new rulers of Guatemala and inaugurated policies calculated to lead the country along the path of bourgeois development.

Under Arévalo, and later Arbenz, Guatemala moved rapidly into a period of bourgeois reform. A new constitution gave the people the civil rights enjoyed in advanced Western nations. Labor and peasant organizations were legalized. Steps were taken to diversify the agriculture of the country and get away from a one-crop coffee economy. A government-sponsored institute was established, headed by an agronomist lent to Guatemala by President Perón of Argentina, to aid capitalists who wished to expand their enterprises or start new ones. Construction of a new highway from Guatemala City to Puerto Tomás on the Atlantic was begun, with the object of breaking the transportation monopoly of the International Railway of Central America, which is controlled by the United Fruit Company. Finally, an agrarian law was adopted, designed to break up the estates and create a class of independent farmers.

None of the reforms of Arévalo and Arbenz can possibly be considered Communist. Even the controversial agrarian law of Arbenz, which the troglodyte opponents of the 1944 revolution revile as "communism," is no more than a mild middle-class reform. The propaganda against it reminds one of the campaign of slander directed against "bolshevik" Mexico in the twenties and early thirties. The law itself states that its purpose was to "liquidate feudal property . . . in order to develop . . . capitalist methods of production in agriculture and prepare the road for the industrialization of Guatemala."

Hampered by the non-existence of a strong bourgeoisie and the dearth of capital, Arévalo and Arbenz resorted to the expedient made use of by other bourgeois states in the past—namely, direct state intervention to obtain funds for promoting industrial development. Perón and the recent middle-class governments of Mexico have done the same thing. The new constitution sanctioned such state intervention. Article 88 says that "the state will orient the national economy" and that the "primary function of the state is to promote agriculture and industry in general." Article 90 goes on to say that "the state recognizes the existence of private property

Banana Worker

The drawings on these pages were made by Anton Refregier, distinguished American artist, during a recent visit to Guatemala.

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and guarantees it as a feature of society." This Latin American version of Keynsian economics is certainly not communism.

However, the middle class reformers were much weaker than their control of the state apparatus made them appear to be. Hemmed in by the foreign enterprises and native landholders on one side and by the mass of peasants and workers on the other, they could not by themselves reshape Guatemalan society. Hence the political tactics of Arévalo and Arbenz. *The workers and peasants were to be used as a means to an end*—namely, the creation of a bourgeois society. But the labor and peasant movements were run by the Communists, and the bourgeois leaders were too weak to oppose the infiltration of Communists into the government, particularly in the education, propaganda, and agrarian departments. In consequence Marxist and socialist terminology came to be used in the official *Diario de Centro America* and in government propaganda in general.

The Guatemalan middle-class reformers were not the first in Latin America to resort to "radicalism" to win over the masses. Their Mexican predecessors went even farther. I have in my possession textbooks used in Mexican public schools during the Cárdenas administration which expound primitive communism and celebrate the victory of the Third International. And I also recall that Mexican Cabinet ministers spoke in the name of "dialectic materialism" and the "classless society." The Cárdenas government was not Communist; why try to pin the label on the Arévalo and Arbenz governments?

The shortcomings of those administrations and their game of give and take with the Communists must not blind us to the fact that Arbenz was overthrown by a combination of reactionary forces united around a negative "anti-communism." The middle-class reformers furthered, in a small way, economic and social progress; the reactionary "anti-Communist" combination can only hold it back. The "anti-Communists" are not likely to do away overnight with all the innovations introduced by Arévalo and Arbenz, but a brake will be put on new reforms, and those that cannot be undone will be kept within bounds.

To say that the only interest of the new government is to block communism in Guatemala and destroy a "Soviet beachhead" in the Americas is nonsense. Its chief target is the reforms mentioned above, particularly the agrarian reform, which was expected to undermine the power of the landholders and the foreign enterprises. Admittedly the Communist infiltration was a factor in the Guatemalan equation and made the United States apprehensive. But the conflict was not primarily caused by the issue of communism.

I have no way of knowing in detail what role the United States played in the recent uprising. But one thing is certain. By harping on the threat of the "Soviet beachhead" and keeping silent about the real meaning of the 1944 revolution, the United States showed itself to be opposed not only to communism in Guatemala but also to the industrial development of the country. Apparently the United States opposes not only "red" but also bourgeois revolutions in backward countries.

END OF A G.O.P. ERA

Has Dewey Had Enough? . . *by Warren Moscow*

THERE is a feeling in New York that the Republican Party in the state is reaching the end of an era, one that has been the most politically lucrative of modern times. The feeling stems from the fact that more people than ever before are believing Tom Dewey when he says he won't run again for Governor this fall, plus the knowledge of many others that even if the G. O. P. should win with somebody else, things won't be quite the same.

The Republicans were out of power for twenty years before Dewey. Now they have had twelve years of him. The feeling that a change is in the cards is a bit too widespread to be discounted.

It is rare for the Grand Old Party to control the White House in Washington and the Capitol in Albany at the same time. It happened in the first years of William Howard Taft as President and again at the beginning of the Harding Administration; it has happened in the first two years of Eisenhower. But the previous Republican Governors were different. Charles Evans Hughes broke the corrupt hold of his party's machine on the state before he went to the United States Supreme Court. Nathan L. Miller, in Harding's era, was an upright gentleman before whom no political leader dared discuss a "deal." Tom Dewey has been the most "practical" as well as the most successful standard-bearer the party ever had. Neither Hughes nor Miller in their time inspired affection among the professionals, nor has Dewey in his. But Dewey has always understood their problems.

To comprehend Dewey's relations with his party, and what may happen when and if he leaves Albany, one has to go back to the Harding-Coolidge era, when Tom was a beardless and possibly mustacheless youth in Owosso, Michigan. The Republican Party in the twenties was run in New York, as in many other places, by the millionaires themselves, not by their delegates. Charles D. Hilles, Ogden L. Mills, Ruth Baker Pratt, Bill Ward of Westchester, Phil Elting of Ulster *were* the interests, not

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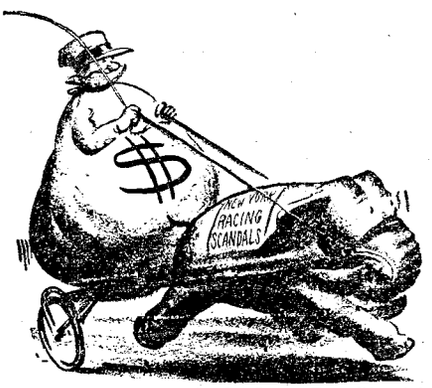
working for the interests. When they lost prestige and authority as a result of the Hoover débâcle and the great depression, the control of the party landed in the hands of the Young Turks, a group of county leaders that included J. Russel Sprague of Nassau, Bill Bleakley of Westchester, Kenneth Simpson of New York, Johnny Crews of Brooklyn, Warren Ashmead of Queens, Ed Jaeckle of Erie, Tom Broderick of Monroe, and a few others.

They ran the party, but they controlled nothing worth while but the legislature. Lehman was Governor; Roosevelt was President. Then came Dewey, a political prospect of the first water on the basis of his rackets investigation in New York County and his subsequent election as district attorney. He was a country boy with city appeal. They latched on to him, ran him for Governor in 1938, and even when he lost, they stuck with him, all save Simpson, with whom Dewey split over the question of who was to be boss.

The loyalty of the others was based on practical politics. Dewey looked like an eventual winner, and the others did not like Simpson either. In addition, Dewey gave the rest blunt assurances that he would be organization-minded,



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post Dispatch*

1954 Handicap

or "practical," if you will, when elected. He was elected Governor, he was practical, and they and their successors have been loyal to him ever since.

It is a tribute to Dewey's intelligence that he has never run out on a political commitment once made, no matter how difficult delivery was. The leaders have furnished for him the votes he wanted in the legislature and at successive state and national political conventions. He in turn has given them unprecedented leeway in local political action. He has known what they were doing all the time—it must be presumed from the "dossier" system he installed when he first went to Albany—but he has interfered, ex post facto, only when some particular activity has brought criticism on himself or his administration.

This has been terrifically important to the county leaders, the now much older survivors of the original Young Turks, as well as their successors. It has been important because, unlike the Hilles, Mills, Pratt, Ward, and Elting group, they are not the interests but only brokers for the interests. Their ability to survive, make money, and fill campaign chests has depended on their ability to deliver the goods in government's relationship to business. And that in turn has depended on the goodwill of the Executive Department.

If Dewey goes out, even if the Republicans should keep control of the Capitol, there is no Republican successor in sight who has all the Dewey ability, all the Dewey assets, all the Dewey brass, needed to keep this kind of show on the road.

First of all, Dewey went into office with white and shining armor, with a reputation as a racket-buster, a foe of corruption. This served him well as a buffer against critics. To point the importance of this, Charles Poletti, a Democrat, pardoned a labor arsonist at the request of labor leaders—and went into political obscurity. Tom Dewey pardoned Lucky Luciano, who went right back into the dope business as international overlord, and Dewey got away with the excuse that Luciano helped us win the war. The difference was that Dewey had originally sent Lucky to jail. Nobody raised the question of pressures that might have influenced Dewey's action, as they did in Poletti's case.

Dewey has, and always has had, personal relations with newspaper publishers that have led the organs of public opinion to accept his version. His relations with the business community, with bankers, have been equally pleasant. Each successive campaign made by Dewey has been the best-publicized and best-financed in the history of the state. He has also a twelve-year record of administrative accomplishments which sound a lot better than they really are. Obviously, no other Republican candidate can toot his own horn so loud. No one else looks like the same kind of paid-up life insurance to his party.

ABOUT the only one on the list of possible Dewey successors who really fits the Dewey pattern is United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell. If Mr. Dewey can choose his successor—and there is reason to think he doesn't give a Michigan damn who succeeds him—Brownell should be it. Brownell has the same Wall Street contacts; he has the same thinking; many regard him as the same kind of cold fish, with the same devotion to the premise that the end always justifies the means. But Brownell has never run for public office higher than the state Assembly. He has been the manipulator of Dewey campaigns. And he would not win a popularity poll among the leaders.

Brownell is practically the only possibility who has been in the forefront on one side or the other of the McCarthy issue. He has been on both sides. First he outdistanced McCarthy with his performance in the Harry Dexter White case; then he denounced McCarthy for irresponsible damage to American ideals. This probably would hurt him as a gubernatorial nominee, since the McCarthyites can be counted on to remember the latter and the anti-McCarthyites the former. McCarthyism in New York, as in many other places, is like a submerged reef. It shows on the charts, but nobody goes monkeying around to see how dangerous it is.

Senator Irving M. Ives is a different story. The leaders like him, and he has shown vote-getting ability on a statewide basis to the point of piling up a plurality in 1952 which topped Dewey's best by half a million. If Dewey is sincere in wanting to quit, he has an "out" in Ives, to whose vote-getting record he can point. He can say to his party, "You don't need me, Irv can win."

However, Ives for Senator could be one thing with the great New York City population and Ives for Governor could be another. In addition, Ives is happy in the Senate. Nobody ever quits the United States Senate of his own volition. He is either rejected by his constituents or carried out to an honored grave. Ives genuinely doesn't want to run, or even to be Governor. His background is legislative, not executive,

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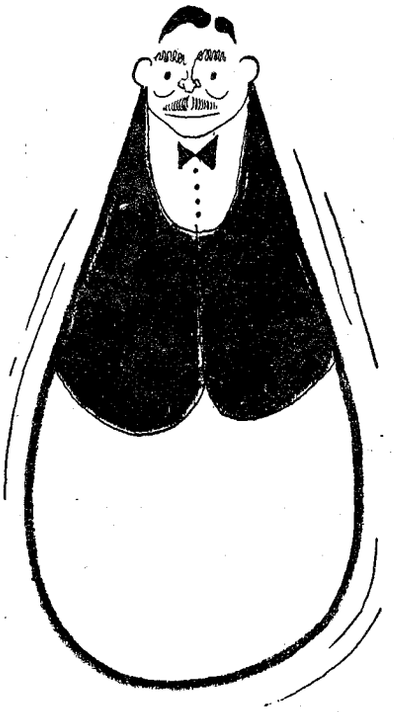
and Washington is now in his blood.

But even if Ives should run, not because Tom Dewey asked him to but because his party did, and even if Ives should win would Albany be the same? Would the party be the same? Probably not. Where Dewey is a boss, Ives strives to be a conciliator. Where Dewey rules by fiat, Ives would rule by caucus. Both are practical politicians, but Ives's conscience is much more active. Ives's principal weak point, frequently attacked, has been that he has avoided possibly damaging issues.

When Ives first went to Washington as Senator seven years ago, many in the Washington press corps thought he would be there as Mr. Dewey's Senator instead of the junior Senator from New York. Others knew better, knew that there had never been any love lost between them. Dewey vetoed Ives for the Senate nomination in 1944 and took him in 1946 only to stave off the politically undesirable—to him—candidacy of General William J. Donovan.

Ives wanted to be his own Senator, and it served Dewey's purpose to have him operate as such, since any votes cast by Ives in 1947 and 1948 might have been construed as Dewey votes, committing Dewey on issues in the 1948 Presidential campaign, in which he hoped to be, and was, again the Republican nominee. But whereas Dewey did not want to run in 1948 on Ives's record, or for that matter on any record, Ives in 1954 would have to run for Governor on the Dewey record.

WHAT of Dewey himself? How strong is he? Why doesn't he want to run again? First off, Dewey is strong. But his strength can be overestimated. Let's look at his running record. He ran for District Attorney of New York County in 1937 against Harold Hastings, and won. He ran for Governor in 1942 against John J. Bennett and Dean Alfange, and won. He ran against James M. Mead in 1946, and won. He ran against Walter A. Lynch in 1950, and won. But when he ran for Governor against Herbert H. Lehman in 1938, he lost. When he ran for President against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944, he lost the state by 315,000. When he lost the Presidency to Harry Truman in 1948, only the 509,000 votes cast in New York for Henry A. Wallace enabled Dewey to



squeak through there by 61,000 or about 1 per cent of the votes cast.

What it seems to add up to is that Dewey has consistently beaten men who were either without a substantial following or the nominees of a divided party, and that he has consistently lost to Democrats of outstanding reputation. Or, putting it another way, the public has put aside its distrust of Dewey's techniques, motivation, and personality and voted for him only when it didn't like the caliber of his opposition.

It is a political truism that men who have once had the Presidential bug never lose it. Dewey has had it bad. And if there were a possibility of his nomination for President in 1956, he would not be talking now of getting out of politics. But there is no real possibility of his getting the nomination. And if he did it wouldn't be worth anything. The bitterness of the 1952 convention was directed at him, not at Eisenhower, and it would exist with greater force if he tried to take the mantle in 1956, or if Eisenhower tried to step aside. Dewey is practical enough to know this, and also that Eisenhower will be drafted by his party, must be drafted, if a semblance of unity and hope is to be preserved. He can be further interested in the Governorship only as the stepping-stone to the Presidency, and he's already had his turn. Twice.

Another reason why he may step aside is that in the campaign coming up this fall, he would be carrying a heavier burden than ever before. It is the burden of scandal in his administration, and he doesn't like that. To be fair, no politician does. He was able to weather it in 1950 when he was confronted with the implications of the Hanley letter. But that scandal broke during the campaign itself, and the issue got as confused as the Mr. X issue in the recent mayoralty campaign in New York. Now Dewey is in the position of having paid off his obligation to Hanley, at state expense, for the past four years, confirming the implications in Hanley's letter of why he stepped aside as Dewey's rival. In the coming campaign there would be the harness track scandal, the Joey Fay scandal, the nine years spent building the Thruway, the mystery of Luciano's pardon, the often rumored shenanigans in the liquor-licensing procedure. To Mr. Dewey's declaration that he has set up a code of ethics for public officials the Democrats have already retorted that up to his time the state never felt the need for such a code.

In New York City he no longer has an administration that, willy-nilly, is a whipping boy, as it was under O'Dwyer and Impellitteri. This past spring the city stood up and fought, and Mr. Dewey's own polls are reported to have shown that he lost ground substantially on the issue of the city-state fiscal relationship alone.

IF I were a mind reader, I might sum up Dewey's thinking this way: Dewey is tired of campaigning. He has campaigned either for public office or for the Presidential nomination eight times in the last seventeen years. He feels he has had enough, that he has done enough for his party in bringing it into power in the state and keeping it there longer than any predecessor. He is annoyed with the chore of public office holding. He believes, and has considerable support for that belief, that he can make a lot of money practicing law. And if the party can't win with somebody else, that's too —— bad.

Of course, being Governor of New York is a comfortable life. The salary has been $25,000 up to now with $50,000 slated for the next incumbent. That's what you pay taxes on. In addition, the state spends nearly $175,000 more a year on your upkeep,

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including cars, chauffeurs, food, refreshments, transportation, and things so varied as bodyguards on trips to the Orient, lawn seed, and gardeners' aprons. It is as high a standard of living as you could buy on an income of a million a year, before income taxes.

But people call you up, come to see you, and you have to see them. There is another budget to prepare, and the fat has already been used up. There are problems in the morning and baby-kissing to be done in the afternoon. There are always campaigns in the offing. There are ungrateful politicians who get your administration into trouble, even after you've told them to be careful. You can't lay up cash for your old age; you can't get cut in on a stock deal and make the profit in capital gain.

So maybe you'll pull out, and when you're not practicing law, go up to the farm and watch your tenant milk the cows. And maybe the pressure to stay in office won't be so great this time, because the boys know you've had enough. Maybe they're getting older, too.

PEGLER PEGGED

Blow to the Hate-Mongers . . *by Albert J. Zack*

AT 1 a.m. on June 29, in a stuffy little courtroom nine floors above the deserted streets of lower Manhattan, a big, rumpled-looking man with a wide grin saw his faith in American institutions justified. Quentin Reynolds, war correspondent, author, TV and radio personality, is a man well accustomed to thrills, but he had probably never had a greater one. He had proved that the American system of justice was able to meet and beat that phenomenon of present-day journalism, the hate columnist; and at the same time he had won one of the largest single awards for damages ever handed down in a libel suit. His antagonist was missing when the curtain fell. When the jurors retired to consider the more than four thousand pages of testimony and the hundreds of exhibits, Westbrook Pegler took his bulging brown briefcase, his scowl, and the first elevator away from what had been his public whipping post.

There will certainly be more whippings. Others whom Pegler has grossly insulted and slandered will now go to court. Drew Pearson has already filed an $850,000 suit which may come to trial next fall.

As the first suit ever pushed by a Pegler victim and the first major defeat suffered by the smear and hate writers, Reynolds's suit was highly newsworthy; yet a self-imposed newspaper censorship hid the facts from the general public. Only the New York *Post*, *Editor and Publisher*, and the *C. I. O. News* gave the trial complete coverage. A. P. and U. P. courthouse reporters filed thousands of words which wound up in city-room wastebaskets or on publishers' desks. Few of them got into type except in England, where Reynolds is still a hero of the blitz. It was not because the trial lacked the ingredients which gladden the hearts of tabloid editors and gossip columnists. Both sides engaged in name-dropping, and stories of nude swimming, war-time scandals, and charges of pro-communism were tossed around. But the defendant's name was Pegler. Only after the judge, in a masterful charge to the jury, found him guilty of outright libel and the jurors fixed the penalty at $175,001 were the facts printed. The public never saw the naked picture of hate, the persecution by the press of a man whose sole crime was that he incurred the dislike of a Hearst columnist. That was the real story of the Reynolds-Pegler case.

IT ALL began in the fall of 1949 when the New York *Herald Tribune Book Review* asked Quentin Reynolds to review Dale Kramer's new biography of Heywood Broun, the noted liberal columnist of the thirties, whom Pegler had always hated. Reynolds had been a close friend of Broun and wrote a sympathetic review, mentioning Kramer's comments on the role Pegler had played in Broun's last hours. Nine days later Pegler devoted an entire column to Reynolds, the column that Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld was to declare, nearly five years later, "as a matter of law . . . libelous and defamatory."

Reynolds, Pegler wrote, was a coward with an "artificial reputation" for bravery who had a "yellow streak" in his "mangy hide." He engaged in public displays of nudism and aped Broun's manner, dress, and political views, which Pegler insinuated were "pro-Communist." Reynolds was such a low character, Pegler added, that he had proposed to Broun's widow en route to Broun's burial place and had later "snubbed her publicly." Pegler also slapped at the *Herald Tribune*, which he called "leftist" in its choice of books for review and of reviewers.

Reynolds promptly retained the New York attorney Louis Nizer and filed a $500,000 libel and slander suit. Co-defendants with Pegler were the Hearst Corporation, which syndicates his column to 186 newspapers with a total (1949) circulation of twelve million, and the corporation's New York affiliate, which publishes the *Journal-American*. For the first time Pegler had to defend his most prized possession—a more than twenty-year-long record of never being sued for libel. Before the tedious task of picking a jury was completed, the defendants had exhausted their challenges, knocking off prospective jurors with Jewish-sounding names and those who were active trade unionists.

Reynolds was his own first witness. Testifying in the deep, resonant voice familiar to radio and TV fans, he traced

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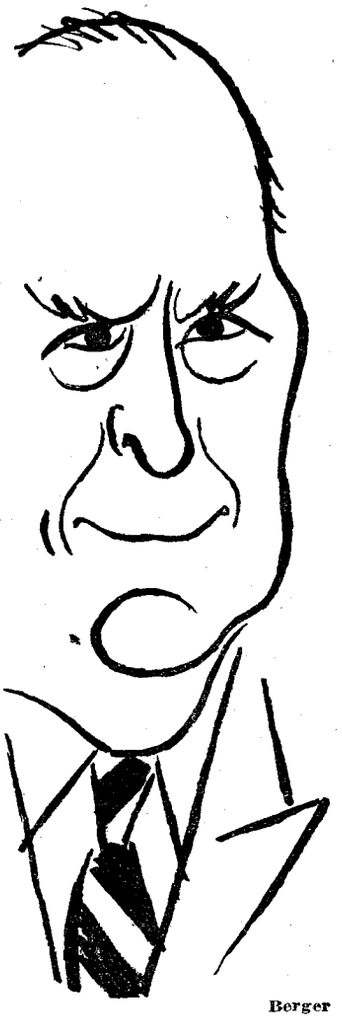
his career as a war correspondent, identified hundreds of articles and books he had written, and quickly demonstrated the losses he had suffered as a result of Pegler's attack. For more than seventeen years he had been a *Collier's* staff writer, selling that magazine 311 articles for about $350,000. After Pegler's column appeared *Collier's* did not buy a single line written by Reynolds.

Nizer skilfully led Reynolds through a description of the battles he had covered for *Collier's*. He had been on the Dieppe raid, was with the French forces when the Maginot line was flanked, left Paris just before the city fell, was in London during the worst of the blitz. In all he spent thirty months in combat areas. Many of his fellow-correspondents, testifying in person or by deposition, swore that Reynolds's reputation for "accuracy, integrity, courage, objectivity, and loyalty" was "of the very highest."

HUNDREDS of Reynolds's pieces were admitted as evidence before Pegler's attorney, Charles Henry, chief Hearst trial lawyer, made his first serious objection. When Nizer introduced a post-war book which clearly displayed Reynolds's anti-Communist views, Henry argued that the defendant was not obligated to be familiar with everything Reynolds had written. The judge overruled him.

In his cross-examination of Reynolds, Henry in a hard, drumming voice shot hundreds of questions across the courtroom, all implying that the military and political strategy of those years had been wrong. Nearly every dispute of the Hearst papers with Franklin Roosevelt, other New Deal leaders, or war-time generals was recalled, with the insinuation that Reynolds was the villain of the piece. Time after time Judge Weinfeld stopped Henry. "No correspondent is responsible for war programs or planning," he noted in one long lecture. The issue, he said, was whether or not Reynolds had been libeled by Pegler.

Various Reynolds witnesses, including Mrs. Connie Broun, widow of the columnist, completely denied the statements Pegler had made. Reynolds never proposed to her, she said, or snubbed her. He was just a good friend, then and now. Reynolds and no one else practiced nudism at the Broun home, she sharply told the jurors. Colonel Jock Lawrence, General Eisenhower's press aide during the war and at NATO, testified that only a handful of correspondents had combat records approaching Reynolds's. Ed Murrow, John Gunther, and Captain Harry Butcher, Eisenhower's naval aide and post-war biographer, all testified that Reynolds was not a coward and was an accurate, honest writer.



Westbrook Pegler

WHEN Nizer began his cross-examination of Pegler, the defendant was angry and sneering, but in less than three minutes he was squirming and on the defensive. Nizer forced him into open contradiction of testimony he had given the previous day.

A stack of photostats which had been admitted after Pegler testified he had "relied upon them" in preparing the 1949 column set the trap. Nizer showed him two photostats and asked if he had "relied" on them. "No," snapped Pegler. Then Nizer revealed they were exact duplicates of two introduced the day before. Repeatedly Nizer demonstrated that the Hearst columnist had given contradictory testimony in court and during sworn pre-trial examination. Pegler complained he had been "trapped" by misleading questions. He admitted having gone personally to organizations which had booked Reynolds as a banquet speaker and given them "derogatory information."

Just before Pegler stepped down from the witness stand, Nizer read him this quotation: "Communism is the reaction to poverty, oppression, and the exploitation of the masses by the few, and represents the demands of the masses for a strong central authority to curb their enemy." What did he think about that? Nizer asked. "Utter nonsense—pro-Communist propaganda . . . very familiar in the Communist line . . . it is false," Pegler answered promptly, forgetting that he had written that very sentence in 1937.

It took the jury ten and a half hours and seven trips back to the courtroom for legal guidance to reach its verdict—$1 in compensatory damages and $175,000 in punitive damages, levied against the three defendants. Reynolds had won a clear victory.

There were legal battles yet to be fought: appeals would be taken and higher courts would make decisions. But a judge and jury had found the leading hate journalist guilty of libel and had set the verdict high "to punish the defendant, to set an example to him, to deter him from repetition, and to warn others." A court of law had proved an adequate weapon against such as Pegler.

However, and this is a big qualifier, it is an adequate weapon only for those who, like Reynolds, have the financial resources to carry on a long legal battle. In his brilliant summation Judge Weinfeld said: "Civilized society has always recognized a man's reputation as a precious thing." It is no less precious to a man without Reynolds's prestige and resources. Have we made justice too costly for him?

Pegler attacked in the open. Because he did, Reynolds could bring him before the bar of justice. But what of the McCarthys, who hide behind the cloak of Congressional immunity? And what of the free press, which reports countless court cases of far less significance but ignored this case because the defendant was Pegler?

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BOOKS

Pulse of Three Cultures

THE ETERNAL SMILE AND OTHER STORIES. By Pär Lagerkvist. Random House. $4.50.

MODERN ITALIAN SHORT STORIES. Edited by Marc Slonim. Simon and Schuster. $5.

FRENCH STORIES AND TALES. Edited by Stanley Geist. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

SHORT stories are immensely popular in America, but only occasionally find their way between the covers of a book. Our major writers, even when working with the short story, are rather offhand about it—as though marking time before beginning their next novel. For the most part crammed into the slums of pulp fiction or placed neatly in those fashionable suburbs of literature, the slick magazines, the American short story has found only a tenuous home among art forms.

As part of the European tradition, however, the short story is far from a footnote to literature. Much of the Continent's finest work has been done in this form. Short tales or novellas often form part of a series; just as often they are the total of an author's production, transmuting significant experience into art with admirable economy. The European short story is proof indeed that literature need not be rated—as so often appears to be done—by avoirdupois.

Three new collections of European stories—"The Eternal Smile," by the Swedish Pär Lagerkvist; "Modern Italian Short Stories," edited by Marc Slonim; and "French Stories and Tales," edited by Stanley Geist—are fascinating for their enormous range of technique, subject, and attitude and their manner of recreating the pulse of their respective cultures. The Northern chiaroscuro, mysticism, and massiveness of Lagerkvist's prose are in effective contrast to the vivid life and bold naturalism of the Italian writers. And the French stories are Gallic counterpoint—perhaps slighter than the other tales but neater examples of structured fiction.

Pär Lagerkvist, author of "Barrabas" and winner of the Nobel Prize, is a brooding, prolific writer of enormous variety. In "The Eternal Smile," short stories written over a period of thirty years, he pursues the ultimate questions of human existence. His fiction is, quite literally, a matter of life and death. But while Lagerkvist's basic orientation may be ponderous, his prose is not; and he possesses a fabulous range. From interior monologue to allegory, he weaves and reweaves an unorthodox number of methods, and his language varies from the heavily portentous to the wildly surrealist, from childhood simplicity to a Walpurgisnacht of adult violence.

Through all changes of subject and technique, however, Lagerkvist is never completely free from blackness of mood and blackness of vision. The child in *Quest of Reality* broods upon death and decay; the man and woman in Masquerade of Souls, after a love idyl worthy of Tristan and Isolde and hardly less romantic, have their lives turned to stupidity and ashes with a single, savage line. This bitterness and lack of illusion shows Lagerkvist as unmistakably modern despite his use of folk materials. The Hangman, for example, is a surrealist nightmare, complete with time-lapse, symbolism, and great density of language. Even in his less experimental stories Lagerkvist does not merely narrate experience; he forces the heart and mind into the very moment of perception, when "one's whole existence . . . is chopped up into seconds," and each second is infinity.

The Eternal Smile, Lagerkvist's title piece, sums up his major themes and perhaps some of his shortcomings. Here are irony, power, and cosmic fantasy ending in an affirmation of life as an end in itself, the one supreme value. However, once Lagerkvist insists on the value of life, his primary solution of its problems seems that of resignation. In The Eternal Smile all the dead of the ages go in search of God, and find only a little old man chopping wood, repeating "I have done the best I could." This will strike many readers as inadequate. There is, no matter what the metaphysics involved, a singular poverty in picturing the Creative Force as a senile woodchopper.

Lagerkvist's work may not always be fiction as the technician would have it, morality as the moralist would have it, or theology as the theologian would have it. But it is a grand and towering landscape of the human soul, challenging as thought and memorable as art.

IN CONTRAST to the icy peaks and black moods of Lagerkvist's tales Marc Slonim's collection of Italian stories is warm with blood and life. Seldom has a single volume captured so successfully the rapidly flowing currents of Italian literature. The book is not simply a collection; it is an introduction to an important area of world fiction.

"Modern Italian Short Stories" is divided into four sections: The Precursors, From Futurism to Fascism, Literature Under Mussolini, and The New Era. Each section is prefaced with an introduction by Slonim, who gives historical and critical perspective with remarkable clarity. While few readers will find all the stories equally successful either as art or entertainment, Slonim's own comments, as well as the representative works he has chosen, form an unsurpassed portrait of a rich culture and people.

Here are power, subtlety, paganism, and paradox; naturalism and nationalism; the psychological and the provincial; the formulistic retreat under Fascism and the eruption of neo-realism in post-war Italy. Some of these narratives flash like rapiers, deadly but delightful; others make their way slowly but irresistibly, products of a red and sun-drenched soil. Yet the very presence of such variety requires a word of caution. Readers would do well to approach gradually this banquet of literature, since not all courses will be equally digestible.

While Slonim's volume and Lagerkvist's stories are serious contributions rather than casual collections, Stanley

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Geist, editor of "French Stories and Tales," makes it clear that he has chosen works with no object "but to make a fresh and lively volume of more than routine interest." Mr. Geist succeeds in his object; his book *is* fresh and lively, containing stories, anecdotes, and longer pieces from such French masters as Stendhal, Balzac, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Zola, and Gide. Most of his selections are ironic and involved—neat packages of prose tied with the ribbon of craft.

Whatever happens to the people in these stories, however, the cards they receive in playing out their moments are dealt to them from a carefully shuffled deck. There may be great interest in the game, but only with the knowledge that it *is*, after all, a game. At one point in his introduction Mr. Geist mentions the "French" notion that literature is "first of all an art—more precisely, an artifice." It must also be added that while all art is necessarily artifice, not all artifice is necessarily art.

Flattery for a Despot

SYNGMAN RHEE. By Robert T. Oliver. Dodd, Mead and Company. $5.

By Mark Gayn

AMONG the eminent Asians, Syngman Rhee holds a place all his own. He does not possess the greatness of a Nehru or Mao Tse-tung, the historic role of a Chiang Kai-shek, or the intellectual gifts of Ho Chi-minh. On the other hand, he has done something no one else ever did. He had spent thirty-five years in exile and was over seventy when he *began* his career as his country's leader. He quickly showed an amazing aptitude for Korean ward politics, and where his far abler rivals were frightened off or murdered, Rhee sailed on. He fought his rightist competitors, the Communists, and the United States army, which had doubts about him. In the end, his staying power—which included an uninhibited use of terror—won out. As befits an eminent Asian, he acquired a body of devoted champions on Capitol Hill and saw a succession of American diplomats, headed by Secretary Dulles himself, come to him with pleas for moderation that would not wreck the armistice, the American foreign policy, and the coalition of free nations that fought in Korea.

Undeniably, the man is fascinating. Everyone perturbed by the events in Korea should thus be interested in the first full-length biography of Rhee, especially when the author appears to be so well equipped for his task. Mr. Oliver, who teaches at the Pennsylvania State University, reports that he has had numerous talks with Rhee since their first meeting at a Washington cafeteria in 1942. He has also **had** access to Rhee's files and diaries, and both Rhee and his wife have supplied any other data needed.

With such aid Mr. Oliver provides some illuminating material, especially on the earlier phases of Rhee's career, as well as on the crucial years of 1946-47. This, however, I regret to report, exhausts the merits of the book. If the writing of a biography presupposes a critical evaluation of the subject, this volume does not qualify. Mr. Oliver considers Rhee "a great man," and adds, in one of his less ebullient passages, that "few men have played so significant a role in the twentieth century." (O shades of Churchill and F. D. R., of Hitler and Mussolini, of Stalin and Trotsky, of Gandhi and Mao Tse-tung!) Blandly Mr. Oliver dismisses most of Rhee's Korean rivals as Reds and hints broadly again and again that the American diplomats and generals who did not think well of Rhee really wished to turn South Korea over to Moscow. All this is buttressed with quotations from numerous letters by Rhee—without any indication of to whom they were addressed or what their purpose was. (Could they, for instance, have been written for the express purpose of influencing opinion in this country?)

As intriguing are the facts Mr. Oliver chooses to omit. Almost invariably these omissions involve extreme rightists who helped Rhee to intrench himself in power and whom he then began to suspect of political ambitions. Rhee's long-time Premier, whose Nazi-patterned bands of young hoodlums subjected the countryside to a reign of unimaginable terror in Rhee's behalf, is dismissed with only an irrelevant reference in the appendix. Rhee's long-time Home Minister, whose police helped to eliminate Rhee's rivals, does not even merit a footnote. As it happens, he fell out with

MARK GAYN, author of several books on the Far East, reported on Syngman Rhee in his "Japan Diary" and contributed Profile of a Despot to The Nation *of March 13.*

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his patron when he decided to run for the presidency himself.

The omissions are coupled with disingenuous explanations of such events as Rhee's strong-arm byplay with the unfriendly Korean Assembly—a byplay, incidentally, that compelled American commanders to rush to Rhee's home in Pusan at a critical point in the battle. Their pleas to observe the democratic niceties, one might add, did not move Rhee. With the help of police and mobs he had his way. And all this is combined with lapses forgivable in a tourist but not in a scholar. Harbin, for instance, is not in Siberia. And one really cannot take seriously Mr. Oliver's reverential description of how Mrs. Rhee, an Austrian, criticizes her husband's Chinese calligraphy.

This two-dimensional book, one often feels, is more Rhee's autobiography than anything else. For who but Rhee would claim that "his success in planting the roots of genuine democracy on the continent of Asia may prove the most significant turning-point in the relationship" between Asia and America; or that "his basic connection with America's destiny in the Pacific is that he offered guidance for our Far Eastern policies which, to our cost, we ignored"; or that this "liberal Jeffersonian" has "done much to save the values Americans cherish in the Far East, even at times against our will"? Who, indeed, but, say, an American who, by his publisher's admission, has served as Rhee's agent in this country, managed the Washington office of the (South) Korean Pacific Press, and edited its monthly? What is presented here as a biography is in fact a crude caricature. It may serve the ends of an Asiatic dictator, but it will hardly help Americans to understand what is going on in Korea—such things, for example, as the news reports of how the candidates who hoped to run against this "Jeffersonian" in the May election ended in jail or had their heads bashed in. The subtitle of the book is "The Man Behind the Myth." It probably would have been more correct to call it, "The Myth Before the Man."

New Books in Brief

Old Revolutionary vs. New Soviet Man

FALL OF A TITAN. By Igor Gouzenko. Translated from the Russian by Mervyn Black. Norton. $4.50.

Igor Gouzenko, a *cause célèbre* in Canada a few years ago who recently hit the headlines in this country, has spent four years writing a novel, a huge and bumbling narrative, epic in bulk only. The story of the impact of Soviet power on the individual is valid, even fascinating, material for a novel, but in "Fall of a Titan" Gouzenko has simply failed to transmute his experience into effective fiction. His book is replete with awkward transitions, wooden dialogue, and villains who are dehumanized to the point where, no longer men, they are no longer villains.

Since "Fall of a Titan" is essentially an account of the conflict between an old revolutionary great—obviously Gorky—and a "new Soviet man," comparisons with Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" are inevitable. Where Koestler wielded a fine psychological scalpel, exposing the very nerve-endings of new power, Gouzenko creates a political "Uncle Tom's Cabin." His characters are described by epithets, the truth of which the reader must already have accepted. Gouzenko simply imbeds these epithets—along with omniscient conclusions—into a lumpy narrative.

"Fall of a Titan" is also marred by a ponderous solemnity, a total lack of either irony or perspective. Many readers will be unable to digest passages like the one in which Soviet teachers put on a play for children branding Cinderella as a traitor to the working class and Father Christmas as a capitalist spy. Compared to this dose of bathos, the story of The Little Match Girl becomes a tale for sophisticates.

In many ways "Fall of a Titan" is a Stalinist novel against Stalinism. Here are the conventional and politically profitable target, teleological realism, lack of humor, poor workmanship, cheer words, hiss words, and other trappings of utilitarian literature. All this is of course understandable, for the straitjacket of Soviet fiction is in Gouzenko's background. His book derives some value from its accumulation of physical details, but it has the defects which have hamstrung so much of Soviet literature, anti-Soviet though it is.

Lost Hope

LOST ISLAND. By Graham McInnes. World. $3.50.

On its merits one would dismiss Mr. McInnes's romance of the unhappily married meteorologist wrecked on an uncharted island, where he finds an entrancing woman and a spring whose waters give immortality, as strictly for the hammock trade. For pure escapism the story of the survivor of Sir Francis Drake's Golden Hind living with his daughter in an idyllic paradise in 1954 and welcoming the castaway as son-in-law and husband is doubtless well enough, but it hardly seems to call for serious consideration.

And yet the novel's conclusion is curiously disturbing. Rather than return to the twentieth-century world the two immortals blow their lost island out of existence. Suicide is preferable to mid-twentieth-century civilization.

Is it really true that a moral abyss has opened between ourselves and the Renaissance? That the ethical concepts which were prevalent in the days of the first Elizabeth shrink in mortal horror from those which prevail in the days of the second? That the world has sunk to the nadir of evil? That the frigidaire and the automobile, the deep-freeze, TV, helicopter, jet plane, and antibiotic do not really outweigh the bomb and the police state; that sanitation, birth control, geriatrics, and DDT are as nothing in the face of global fear and global preparations for war? Is death really better than life in the second half of our century?

"Lost Island" makes no attempt to answer these questions, but the very fact that they are raised by a novel clearly designed for popular appeal ought to cause considerable—and possibly salutary—disquiet.

Yeats's Religious Beliefs

THE UNICORN. W. B. Yeats's Search for Reality. By Virginia Moore. Macmillan. $6.50.

To many of his warm admirers Yeats was a great poet who managed somehow to nourish his genius on the moonshine

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of Plotinus and the garbage of Madame Blavatsky. W. H. Auden found his religious ideas merely "embarrassing." Others explained them away as mere play-acting or the delusions of a man reacting insanely against the dry rationalism of his powerful father. The author of the present ambitious and in many ways very able book announces her intention to reach an "understanding" of his greatness by seriously examining his beliefs. She traces successively his absorption in Swedenborg, Blake, Irish mysticism, hermetic magic, Rosicrucian doctrine, spiritualism, and the rest, taking due note of his three-year membership in the "Theosophical Society," followed by his thirty-year membership in "The Order of the Hermetic Students of the Golden Dawn." The conclusion at which she seems to arrive is that one cannot regard all this as either irrelevant or merely silly. Yeats's concern was, she is sure, deep and his poetry something integral with, not separate from, his beliefs. Thoroughly documented and much more readable than one might expect, this book will certainly have to be reckoned with in any attempt to understand Yeats—though for most readers the images are not improved as poetry when they are explained in terms of his preposterous science.

Study of a Gypsum Plant

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL BUREAUCRACY. By Alvin W. Gouldner. The Free Press. $4.50.

Professor Gouldner's book is one more example of the tendency of many sociologists to be busily engaged in rewriting one another's works. His book is unique in the sense that it presents a case study of an industrial community that has never been studied before. But beyond this there is little that is new or challenging; the author's hypotheses, formulations, generalizations, and conclusions are familiar enough to anyone who has some knowledge of the bureaucratization theories of Max Weber and Robert K. Merton, among others. Professor Gouldner, who teaches at Antioch, has applied some of these theories to a gypsum plant in the Great Lakes area, and not surprisingly he has found that they work.

In brief, the book establishes the existence of three basic patterns of rule-making and rule-enforcement in bureaucratic organization. In the first case, the rules are unenforced by management and disobeyed by the workers because the supervisory personnel are lax or because the rules don't make much sense. In the second instance, the rules are sound, the managers efficient, and the workers obedient. The third pattern is characterized by rules which are enforced by management but for a variety of reasons resisted by the workers. In other words, the first pattern is not strictly bureaucratic at all, the second is bureaucratically oriented toward consent, and the third tends to be punishment-centered. The book also shows that all three patterns, or variations of them, can coexist.

The book suffers from a surfeit of sociological and methodological jargon, and in general Professor Gouldner is not one to make a simple point in a simple fashion. Thus one of his significant conclusions is that "efforts are made to instal new bureaucratic rules, or enforce old ones, when people in a given social position [i.e., management or workers] perceive those in the recip-

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rocal position [i.e., workers or management] as failing to perform their role obligations." There may be more here than meets the eye, but one doubts it.

New Look at Yugoslavia

TITO'S PROMISED LAND. By Alex N. Dragnich. Rutgers. $5.75.

An unfriendly look at Tito's Yugoslavia by a former American cultural attaché in Belgrade. Professor Dragnich paints a dark picture of life in Yugoslavia, of economic stagnation, rural unrest, and a fluctuating policy that seeks primarily to keep Tito in power. The author's feeling is that even the Communists are divided. Some follow Tito to survive; some are pro-Soviet; and some are cognizant of failure, but "with blood on their hands they have nowhere to go." The author believes that if Tito and his aides decide that building a Marxist society is impossible, they "might let their system degenerate into a type of bastard dictatorship where ideological purity and ultimate economic objectives are considerably less important than maintaining political power." Some of Professor Dragnich's conclusions—and especially those dealing with the ideological problems of a Communist regime that depends on the capitalist world for its survival—are cogent. Others are debatable. He overdoes the picture of economic disorganization. Many of his monetary figures are meaningless when the dinars are translated into dollars. And no scholar can take seriously the conclusion he reached in 1952 that 90 per cent of the Yugoslavs "do not want communism in any form."

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Records

B. H. Haggin

WEBSTER AITKEN'S recording of Schubert's Piano Sonata Op. 78 has been issued by EMS at last. The entire work is marvelously beautiful; and the first movement is Schubert at his greatest. The English critic William Glock, whose perceptive comments accompany the record (a relief after the gabble and fake on most record envelopes), says rightly that "if one had to point to a particular phrase which seemed above all others to contain the quintessence of Schubert, it would be the opening of this G major sonata"; and then goes on to discuss not only the subtleties of the first four phrases that "prove Schubert to be at the height of his power," but the further subtleties of substance, development, and organization in the rest of the movement that are additional proof. And I have more than once pointed out that the movement is an especially remarkable example of the duality of Schubert's music—its manifestation not only of the relaxation that is considered characteristic of him, but of the power he is supposed not to have. It isn't merely that after an exposition which—except for some momentary liveliness and force—is tranquilly and spaciously meditative to its last measures, the development suddenly erupts with iron-like power; what is remarkable is that the power arises out of, and eventually resolves into, the quiet meditation—which is to say that what erupts suddenly at the beginning of the development is the tranquilly meditative opening statement of the exposition, to which the development returns at the beginning of the recapitulation.

The occasions for my pointing this out have been performances by Aitken that have realized this duality with impressive effect. And this time too his subtle changes of pace and dynamics within the repetitions of the opening statement, and in the transitions from one repetition to the next, achieve a realization of the opening section that is one of the high points of the performer's art in my experience. But what he has done with this section he continues to do with the next; and what worked so well with those quietly meditative statements doesn't work at all well in these gracefully animated ones, in which his constant stop-and-go creates constraint instead of the relaxed flow they call for. Moreover, as the stop-and-go continues in music to which it is unsuited, one begins to get the impression that Aitken is completely absorbed in his procedure to the point of giving no thought to what sort of music he is applying it to and what treatment this music requires; and the art begins to sound like mere mannerism. For this reason it is unfortunate that he repeats the exposition that would have been better left unrepeated in any case: even the opening section now sounds studied; and by the time he has got to the end of the exposition the second time one has had one's fill of stop-and-go—despite which one continues to get it in the development, to which it also is damaging, in the recapitulation, and in the subsequent movements.

Of Aitken's treatment of these later movements I used to say that I felt them to be more relaxed than he did, but could enjoy what he made of them in accordance with his own feeling, and

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enjoy also the operation in them of the musical intelligence and the mastery of his instrument that made him for me the most distinguished artist among American pianists. I can still say this of the finale; and the Trio of the Minuet, played with simplicity that lets it move freely, is enchanting; but the continuing stop-and-go spoils the Andante and the Minuet for me. And though I still appreciate the powers that are operating in the performance, I can't enjoy the manner, the objectives, and the results of their operation in much of this sonata.

The same stop-and-go treatment is given the Sonata Op. 53, on another EMS record, with damage to the energetic first movement and to the G major episode of the finale, and with the most disastrous results of all in the wonderfully beautiful Con moto second movement and the lovely Trio of the Scherzo. These are examples of pure Schubertian lyricism, which should be unaffected, flowing, long-breathed, instead of which they are twisted and complicated as hell —as though projecting on Schubert some complicated-as-hell state or process in the performer. When, after a long digression, the opening theme returns with new accompanying figuration, the figuration compels Aitken to play the section in steady tempo; and the way it is played here must be the way Schubert intended it to be played at the beginning.

Brahms's most successful writing was done in his sets of variations; and two of the best—the one on a theme of Handel, and the one on a theme of Paganini, which I like even better—are played on an Epic record by the pianist Abbey Simon with the necessary brilliance and, except for an occasional sugary nuance, with musical skill and taste. The Handel performance is not well reproduced.

A "soundbook" called "Songbirds of America" (Book-Records Inc.) offers a record with the songs of twenty-four birds in a twenty-seven-page booklet containing information about the birds and superb color photographs. A beautiful job, in which I question only the inclusion of so-called "memory phrases" —sequences of words which the songs are alleged to resemble, but which they actually don't resemble, and which there is no need of even if they did.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

Mr. Ashcraft may legitimately deplore the fact that the nationalist movement in Indo-China is led by Communists, but for this situation French imperialism, supported by the United States and Britain, must take its share of the blame. In any case Communist intervention in the Indo-China civil war must be balanced against equally active Western intervention.—EDITORS THE NATION.

A Pragmatic Point

Dear Sirs: I was much interested in the article Our Public Schools in your June 26 issue even though my book, "Let's Talk Sense About Our Schools" took quite a beating at the hands of the writer. Mr. Bay did indeed catch me in a serious factual blunder. I was mistaken in saying that Dewey held a professorship at Teachers College of Columbia when actually his chair was across the street in Columbia University proper. But if Mr. Bay is correct in his statement that few T. C. students ever crossed the street to hear Dewey lecture, this seems to confirm my stated opinion that most T. C. students worshiped Dewey without trying to understand him.

Mr. Bay seems to think I do not understand Dewey and his instrumental variety of pragmatism, and he may well be right. If so I am in excellent company, for both Russell and Santayana have also been accused of not understanding him. But I wonder if Mr. Bay's understanding is any better. He says that pragmatism is simply the application of the scientific method, and this seems to me to show a most remarkable confusion about both pragmatism and science. Actually a great many of the thinkers who have contributed to the scientific method are not pragmatists at all but philosophical realists—something very different. Pragmatism or instrumentalism is both much more and much less than the scientific method.

On the point that Dewey's pragmatism is very difficult to comprehend I still stand. But isn't it rather dangerous to base the education of thirty million school children on a philosophical system which hardly anyone, certainly not the million of American teachers, understands?

Bellingham, Wash. PAUL WOODRING

CHURCHES IN SERIOUS INTELLECTUAL POSITION

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Everybody knows in a general way that there was a bitter struggle against "polytheism" in ancient Hebrew history: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me". But Biblical scholars in our outstanding universities and progressive theological seminaries know that the struggle against polytheism was not a mere metaphysical campaign against "non-existent gods". They are fully aware that ancient heathen religion was wedded to social injustice, aristocratic tyranny, and personal immorality; and they know that the struggle of the Hebrew prophets against Baal and other gods was primarily a war against these very things.

And yet somehow the agony of the prophets has been diluted and watered down into a respectable and innocuous championship of the "true" God against gods that have no "real existence". Our inherited church-and-Sunday-school belief in God is a kind of popular metaphysics, tinctured with emphasis on ethics and morality. And so far as the general religious public is concerned, as of the present moment, this is the net outcome of the great struggle that convulsed ancient Hebrew history. The average church-going religion today is a folk-respectability that obscures the tremendous meaning of Hebrew history and hides from view the real nature of the Bible as a reflection of that history.

Modern Biblical and secular scholarship have left organized religion far behind the swift march of scientific progress. Is it conceivable that the churches will transform themselves into evangels of social justice? Will they align themselves with the Hebrew prophets, who were sanctioned repeatedly by Jesus? Do they know that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy"? It is to be hoped that before the shrinkage of numbers and influence has gone much further, the churches will wake up to the serious intellectual position which they now occupy.—Suggestions will be found in a circular that you can obtain by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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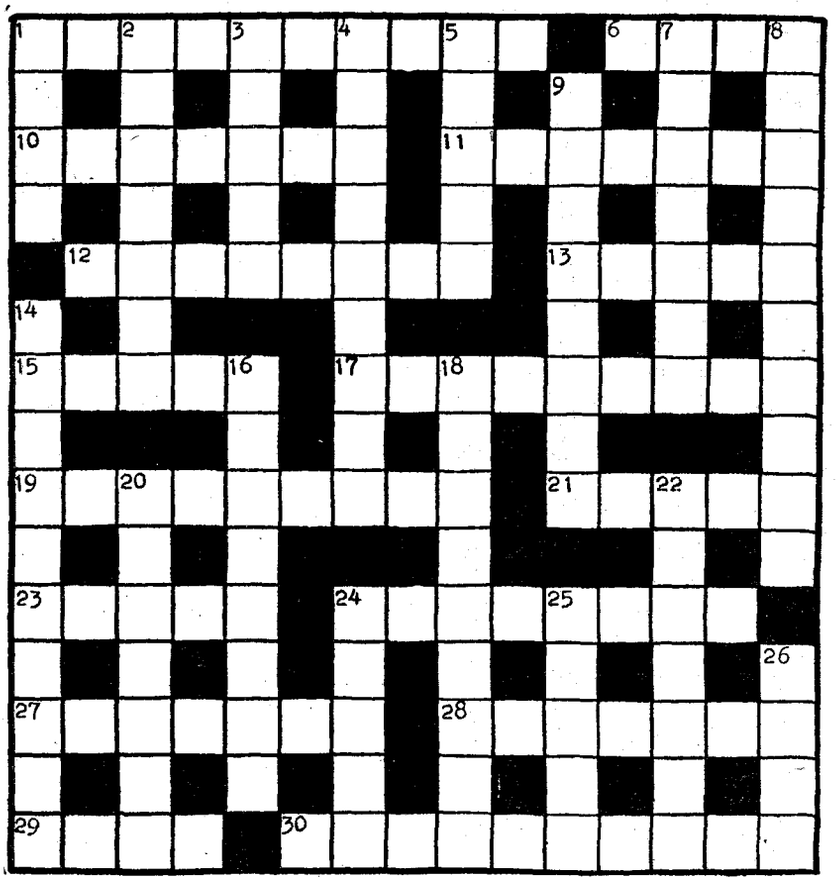

ACROSS

1 Are such as Simon Bolivar high-flown? (10)
6 Well-known Red in America. (4)
10 Evidently to argue is to offend! (7)
11 A marcel should make this sweet thing look different! (7)
12 Does McSorley's, rather than hire them? (8)
13 You can't have a return of revenue without it, not at any time! (5)
15 Trees destroyed, just to plant again. (5)
17 A euphemistic name for the Furies. (9)
19 "*And yet again* _____, *and after* that out of all hooping." AYLI. (9)
21 You might find a right one in deep. (5)
23 Capable of being swung at a melody, when it comes back. (5)
24 See 20 down.
27 Am I indebted for it? (7)
28 Sometimes paid to the first mate. (7)
29 In the left side of the animal kingdom. (4)
30 Herb isn't too fat, evidently, to be inclined to spring .(4, 6)

DOWN

1 and 25. Don't play possum! (4, 5)
2 Exhibits a little less than what radium gives out. (7)
3 To do this to Venus might be a doubtful improvement. (5)
4 and 16. 100 years, as far as Republicans are concerned. (3, 4, 2, 3, 5)
5 Strains, but keeps up the pace. (5)
7 Go in the red? (7)
8 Used as the end of 30, it will never get to shoot. (6, 4)
9 Torch novel? (5-3)
14 We sometimes do partners, lifted in defense. (10)
16 See 4 down.
18 Ruin metal by exposure to the air? (4, 5)
20 and 24 across. Cattle, but not the fancy show type. (4, 3, 3, 5)
22 Difficult. (7)
24 Jog. (5)
25 See 1 down.
26 Less directional and more short than novel in Massachusetts. (4)

—★—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 577

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